

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
 776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topi). It wore a small
 headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I
 reached to pull out the lip plug (thus panteri 'vanquished the topi);
 but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panteri had not de-
 feated the topi, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow).
 I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three
 days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
 [82] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is
 big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers
 of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of shamans near
 [775] him. I did not talk but returned fast. He added later that if he
 [756] had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the
 other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
 292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitana, and people marveled
 781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the
 courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also
 to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days.
 At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the
 powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panteri grabbed
 the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the
 air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immedi-
 ately, stricken by a panché-iúnwera. Urukumú picked up the
ankungitana. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants
 with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
 [292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
 [237] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
 this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
 [82] Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
 [753] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
 me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a
 headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
 292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
 285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
 114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any
 details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the
 feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampitáua

601 The kinship system is perhaps a more important factor in assuring
 602 solidarity to the Tapirapé than either the moieties or the household
 groups. Tapirapé kinship is bilateral: the chief principle of the system
 being that all persons of one generation who are related through either
 mother or father, no matter how distantly, are considered brothers and
 sisters. Children of persons calling each other siblings are also siblings.
 The mother's "sisters" are called mother and the father's "brothers",
 father. The mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by
 special terms. Similarly, the children of a man's brothers are considered
 sons and daughters of the man himself, and the children of a woman's
 sisters are considered her children. Children of a man's sister or a
 woman's brother are given special terms.

The wide inclusiveness of these kinship affiliation makes it possible
 for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers — and in
 former days those of other villages — by terms of close relationship.
 Siblings are under obligation to lend aid to one another when it is needed
 and, in the case of sorcery, to avenge wrong done to any of them. The
 [182] kinship system accordingly provides an important bond of solidarity within
 this society which lacks strong centralized control to hold it together.

SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

775 A multitude of spirits populate the unseen world of the Tapirapé.
 776 These spirits, known by the generic term of *ancúnga* (5), are of two ge-
 neral types: ghosts, *ancúnga iánuera*, the disembodied souls of the dead;
 and second, malevolent beings of many classes and descriptions. Ghosts
 inhabit abandoned village sites where they relive their earthly lives, yet
 frequently they travel about at night and, especially during the rainy
 season, they come near the village of the living, for "they are cold" and
 come near human habitations to get warm. People are accordingly afraid
 to venture beyond the village plaza at night. Now and again, ghosts
 appear to living people, frightening them, sometimes throwing a dust-like
 substance over them and causing them to fall insensible.

775 Several people fell from fright upon seeing a ghost during my
 [181] visit. One woman saw a ghost "bathing in the stream" when she

(5) This is the *anhangá* or *agonyon* of the Portuguese and French chroniclers
 who wrote about the Tupi.

went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had urucú in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body.

775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away.

775

764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living.

775

767

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca*).

775

825

[554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *ancúnga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Waré, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awakú anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *munpi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

776

[773]

(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial.

[302

764]

755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then searches in this mess for the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé pané usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Panteri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Panteri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house [829] of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a pané it drove away fevers.

755 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Panteri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen 554
as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His 561
companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá úwa* — or 622
as their "song leader" — *amoniká úwa* — because of his special abilities
in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It fre- [258]
quently happens that these chosen leaders were *čirikakántu* when they
were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages
given such children develop qualities of leadership.

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. 555
It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to 622
control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, 756
to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to 775
cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable
figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the
greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the sha-
man (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife
for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as
shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena [173]
as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many
dangerous *ančúnga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans".
While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the
afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under
ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the
culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north-

were the ones who generally produced *čirikakántu*. The man whom Baldus reported [114]
as "chefe principal", carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a
"song-leader" of his witr, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe
held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantamanu,
whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a
shaman and a "walking leader".

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by
one of my informants: "Without our *paaré*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed.
He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds
are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a
club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal"
cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain
of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known
to the Tapirapé.

555 west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun
622 returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans
756 have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers,
775 much manioc, kaul, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and
[766] luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with
tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out fatigue
on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body
so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very
756 real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans
are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they
may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for
bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually
in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily
observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the
Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the se-
riousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to
offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been
successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each
family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the
treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick
at once, Kamairaho, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid
each the price that he asked. He paid one, Panteri, a machete and
two strings of beads; to another, Urakumu, he gave an axe, a pocket
knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave
only four strings of beads to Kamairai, who was considered a shaman of
less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions
gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still
another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of
[262] beads to a shaman. When Txawaniuma killed a paca, the meat of
[224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion
of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated
his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any
specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the
[577] high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

THE THUNDER CEREMONY

[171] In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder
 776 as a powerful supernatural. He is called Kanawana by the Tapirapé.
 782 Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various
 785 supernumeraries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans
 786 (pançé-lânwera), messengers called awampewa that carry news to
 these pançé lânwera, and finally, topi (28).

Topi are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes topi are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children; but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

1796 Each year in approximately late December and January, when
 821 there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his topi's canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that pançé-lânwera sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxication from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they
 786 fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by topi's arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

(28) Topi is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of Tupan, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi Tupan was the supernatural being who caused the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Métraux's 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 52-56. Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé topi are merely creatures of Thunder.

trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chama-koko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear. 123 152

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking to this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kaul, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoré, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin. [431] [570] [574] [543]

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women. 152 648

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. When at night I was awakened with the words "chahy vuy" "moon blood," all the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like coagulated blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage. 152 621

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López⁹ observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves 152 775

152 in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recede terrified in view of the
 775 suspicion of a tenuous and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes
 [761] the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not
 afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the
 souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman
 which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his
 beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels
 a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel
 through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who
 wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them,
 because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived,
 the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang
 loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have
 observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

123 Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by
 152 the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the
 648 white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill,
 they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the
 house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening
 air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the
 Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé holding clubs during the
 nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a
 pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen.
 [514] The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official
 protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch
 which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house
 in order to relieve himself.

152 So for the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear
 157 and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and
 Kamairahó, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid,
 had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

São Paulo, Brazil.

Notes

- 113 1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156-158.
 2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
 3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1953,
 pp. 39-40.
 4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946.
 S. Paulo.
 5. Cf. Amílcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Pelos sertões do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo,
 1941, pp. 497-498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Müdling
 bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456-458.
 6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
 7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s.,
 Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

823 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirapé
772 view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

773 In point of time, the Tapirapé consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirapé called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirapé by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirapé are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes³ which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river-beds.

[101] Four ancestors escaped the second destruction⁴ of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jucu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.⁵ These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa awa*, as modern Tapirapé call themselves.⁶

773 "Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirapé world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.
776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipu*⁷ from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirapé. Finally Petura went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live in Maratawa,⁸ the home of all Tapirapé culture heroes, of shamans after death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

776

[775]

[756]

³ From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirapé, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

⁴ The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[136]

⁵ *Jucu*: edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura risolata*. *Mutum*: *Craxa leucur*.

⁶ See Balda, Herbert, *Ensaio de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 207-210.

⁷ *Genipa rubra* or *Genipa americana*: fruit from which black body dye is made.

[823]

⁸ Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirapé, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirapé are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirapé during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirapé. They plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and June). [221]

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirapé. To the "home of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tomatociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirapé. There, too—and this is typical of Tapirapé readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Tori.⁹ [176]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non-violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plentifully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirapé) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "house of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maratawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that they had on earth. [821]

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirapé know of the sun, moon and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maratawa.¹⁰ There he eats very little and in a short time sets out again. The morning after Wantanamu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirapé saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died. [821]

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people. [821]

⁹ I was unable to get the original of this story before the obvious change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinambá story recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 12), which tells of Aricoute and Tamembonate, twin sons of Semmay. [171]

¹⁰ See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Sijóia version.

World View of the Tapirapé Indians

357

the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural phenomena is as important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupi, Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, however, Thunder¹⁰ is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *topü*. *Topü* are described as small beings about a hand's length in size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head-dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small "canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach. These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topü* are called "pets" of Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to *topü*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *topü*'s canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens from the storm, shamans¹¹ "call Thunder," or "fight with *topü*." In a four-day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and chant until they "see" one or more *topü*, or souls of dead shamans,¹² fight with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *topü* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *topü*, he falls screaming upon the ground, writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

¹⁰ Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Pururuka, his personal name.

¹¹ Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

¹² In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*topü* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

756 to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and
 796 endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him
 821 by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes
 776 [781] visiting the house of Thunder.

787 "I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun and it came
 756 toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw
 921 Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's
 772 child (a *topi*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug.
 776 I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topi*
 and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark.
 I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed
 a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes
 up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had
 many red parrot feathers. There were many *topi* and many souls of shamans. I did
 not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed
 (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to conscious-
 ness.]

● 775 Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know,
 too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchunga*) which populate the unseen
 world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of
 deceased Tapirapé;¹⁹ and demons or malevolent beings of many classes.
 [787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gener-
 [756] ally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives.
 When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *paca* and
 doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits
 [825] of men.²⁰ These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see-
 [756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless
 laymen.²¹ They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as
 soon as the body is buried.

776 There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac
 class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which
 [794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.²² Other species are very
 dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these
 773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and
 776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[171] ¹⁹ Speaking of Tupinambo, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural
 beings" (*aygonon, agnin, ingange and anchunga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

825 ²⁰ Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age
 [262] and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.

²¹ Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *anchunga* but we
 can't."

²² At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but cer-
 tainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even
 pretend to be frightened.

276
756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occa-
249 sionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

272 No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made
[273] from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

771 *Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, *ancunga* (spirit or shadow).

775 The *ancunga iünwera*, human spirits or ghosts (*añá* or *anhanga* among the *Tupinamba*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls [756] of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called *ancunga*, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many *ancunga*, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mump planká were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the [535] *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, [532] bottom, right).

Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people 796 are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (*ancunga*) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest [241] ceremonial (*kaô*) and the ceremony of *kawi* (a soup-like beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

241
756 In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

Charles Wagley

115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
 123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
 124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
 132 forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
 133 ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and
 children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men
 and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became
 a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for
 interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors
 at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's
 house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house.
 Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to
 sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had re-
 tired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long
 sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under
 the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of
 Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism
 except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered
 the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friend-
 ship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and
 more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next
 months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
 115 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
 123 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
 124 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
 156 pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
 154 explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for
 153 he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans
 whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
 152 tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
 151 but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
 150 Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of
 149 one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he
 148 saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of
 shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinmen about this,
 and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there
 be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964

SP22 Tapirape SP22

Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir.

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when